

Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15

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NEA-10 SAM-01 PRS-01 DODE-00 AID-05 /108 W

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FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9114

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY FREETOWN

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ABIDJAN 6221

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP(SCRANTON, WILLIAM W.) PFOR, UN, IV

SUBJECT: VISIT OF GOVERNOR SCRANTON TO IVORY COAST; MEETING
WITH PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY

1. SUMMARY. GOVERNOR WILLIAM SCRANTON, IN JUNE 28-29
VISIT TO ABIDJAN, CALLED ON PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY
AND GOIC ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL PRESIDENT COULIBALY.
HOUPHOUET GAVE GLOBAL VIEW OF SERIOUS SOVIET THREAT IN
SOUTHERN AND CENTRAL AFRICA AND WEST'S FAILURE TO
APPRECIATE DANGER TO ITS ACCESS TO CRITICAL AFRICAN
RAW MATERIAL. U.S. AND WEST EUROPE MUST WORK
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TOGETHER TO HELP AFRICAN ECONOMIES AND THUS MAINTAIN

POLITICAL STABILITY IN AND ACCESS TO AFRICA. HE STILL SEES NO ALTERNATIVE, EXCEPT WAR, HOWEVER, TO DIALOGUE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, BUT U.S. MUST PUSH SOUTH AFRICA FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE. SCRANTON STRESSED IMPORTANCE TO US OF PUERTO RICAN ISSUE AT UN, AS WELL AS KOREA, PANAMA CANAL AND ISRAEL'S MEMBERSHIP. HOUPHOUET AGREED PUERTO RICAN ISSUE SHOULD NOT BE ON AGENDA. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING COURSE GOVERNOR SCRANTON'S FORESHORTENED VISIT TO ABIDJAN, JUNE 28-29, HE WAS RECEIVED BY PRESIDENT FELIX HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY AND BY PRESIDENT OF GOIC'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL MAMADOU COULIBALY. OTHER APPOINTMENTS AND ECOSOC EVENTS HAD TO BE CANCELLED OR REGRETTED DUE TO EARLY DEPARTURE. GOVERNOR WAS GREETED AT AIRPORT BY MINISTER OF COOPERATION AND CHIEF OF PROTOCOL. PRESS, RADIO AND TV COVERAGE OF GOVERNOR'S ARRIVAL AND MEETING WITH HOUPHOUET WERE EXCELLENT.

3. GOVERNOR, ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR SMITH, CALLED ON PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY, ACCOMPANIED BY GOIC AMBASSADOR TO UN (AND ECOSOC PRESIDENT) SIEON AKE, ON JUNE 29 IN LATE AFTERNOON. DISCUSSION LASTED ONE AND A HALF HOURS, DESPITE HAVING TO BE RESCHEDULED AT LAST MINUTE WHEN GOVERNOR'S DEPARTURE PLANS REQUIRED CANCELLATION "INTIMATE LUNCH" WITH PRESIDENT WHICH HAD BEEN SET FOR JULY 1, AND NOTWITHSTANDING IT MEANT DELAY IN PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH UNSYG.

4. GOVERNOR OPENED MEETING BY NOTING HE HAD MET WITH PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER SHORTLY BEFORE DEPARTURE ON CURRENT AFRICAN TRIP. HE ASSURED HOUPHOUET HOW PLEASED THEY ARE WITH RELATIONS BETWEEN US AND IVORY COAST. HE ADDED THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER, UNABLE TO COME TO ABIDJAN IN JUNE BECAUSE OF HIS MEETING WITH SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, STILL HOPES TO COME TO ABIDJAN SOON.

5. GOVERNOR THEN GAVE IMPRESSIONS OF HIS TALKS WITH
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LEADERS IN TEN COUNTRIES HE HAD JUST VISITED. HE HAD FOUND THEM DISCOURAGED OVER PROSPECTS FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE IN RHODESIA (EXCEPT FOR ONE WHO HOPED CHANGE WOULD BE SLOW BECAUSE IT WOULD RADICALIZE THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION). OTHER LEADERS WERE MORE POSITIVE OVER PROSPECTS FOR PEACEFUL TRANSITION IN NAMIBIA.

EVEN THERE, IT HAD TO MOVE FASTER IF IT IS TO RESULT

IN A MODERATE SOLUTION.

6. GOVERNOR EMPHASIZED THAT THE U.S. IS NOT INTERESTED IN INTERVENING IN AFRICA. "WE WANT WHAT THE AFRICANS WANT AND WISH TO BE HELPFUL IN SUPPORTING AFRICAN SOLUTIONS." SPECIFICALLY, HE SAID THAT PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER WANT HOUPHOUET'S SUGGESTIONS, DIRECTLY FROM HIM OR THROUGH THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR.

7. TURNING TO ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS, GOVERNOR SCRANTON SAID WE ALSO WISH TO HELP AFRICA.

8. PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY THEN PRESENTED HIS FAMILIAR GLOBAL VIEW OF WHAT HAS LED TO THE CURRENT STATE OF PROBLEMS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE WEST, HE SAID, HAS UNDERESTIMATED THE USSR IN AFRICA SINCE DECOLONIZATION. THE FAILURE TO BUILD THE ASSWAN DAM LED TO THE WEST'S "LOSS" OF EGYPT FOR A LONG TIME. THE WEST'S FAILURE TO PUSH PORTUGAL HARDER TO GRANT INDEPENDENCE SOONER TO ITS COLONIES MADE IT EASY FOR THE SOVIETS TO BE THE MILITARY SUPPORTERS OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, PROVIDING ARMS, SOVIET TECHNICIANS AND THEN CUBAN SOLDIERS. THE USSR WANTED A BRIDGEHEAD IN CENTRAL AFRICA AND THEY NOW HAVE IT. THE US WAS UNABLE TO COUNTER THIS AND EUROPE'S ECONOMIC SITUATION PREOCCUPIED THE EUROPEANS. SOVIET MILITARY SUCCESS IN ANGOLA HAS APPEALED TO MANY OF THE AFRICAN MILITARY CHIEFS OF STATE AND MADE THEM SUPPORTERS OF RADICAL AFRICAN POSITIONS.

9. HOUPHOUET DOES NOT BELIEVE SOVIETS WILL FIGHT A
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WAR IN AFRICA, MANILY BECAUSE THEY CONSIDER TIME TO BE ON THEIR SIDE, PARTICULARLY WHEN EUROPEAN ECONOMIES ARE WEAK. YET IT IS THE INDUSTRIAL ECONOMIES THAT MOST NEED AFRICA'S RAW MATERIALS. IF THE SOVIETS WERE TO DOMINATE AFRICA, EUROPE WOULD BE EVEN FURTHER WEAKENED. THE WEST UNDERESTIMATES THE AFRICA OF THE FUTURE, SAID HOUPHOUET, WITH ITS TREMENDOUS MINERAL RESERVES. AND ONLY THE WEST HAS THE MEANS OR THE INTEREST IN HELPING DEVELOP THESE RESOURCES. THE SOVIETS WOULD AS SOON SEE MISERY AND PROVERTY IN AFRICA, TO FURTHER RADICALIZE THE CONTINENT AND PREVENT ITS RAW MATERIALS FROM GOING TO EUROPE.

THUS, CONTINUED HOUPHOUET, THE REAL WAR IS FOR THE WORLD'S FREEDOM. THE ONLY ARMS THAT MATTER ARE

"THE HAPPINESS OF THE PEOPLE". THE US AND WEST EUROPE TOGETHER MUST THEREFORE FIND WAYS TO HELP AFRICA, WITH STUDIES, INVESTMENTS AND TECHNICAL KNOW-HOW, TO WIN THIS TYPE OF WAR. AFRICAN PEOPLE SHOW GREAT HUMAN RESOURCE POSSIBILITIES, TOO, SINCE THEY COME DIRECTLY FROM THE SOIL WITHOUT LONG TRADITIONS OF BEING SPOILED BY MODERN CIVILIZATION.

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11. IN THE ABOVE CONTEXT, HOUPHOUET THEN TURNED TO THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICAM HE SAID THAT THE LIBERATION FORCES THERE NEED SOVIET ARMS AND, SINCE THE STRUGGLE WILL BE A LONG ONE, THE SOVIETS WILL HAVE PLENTY TIME TO BECOME ENSCONCED IN THE AREA. YET HE

WANTS TO AVOID A BLOOD BATH IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.
EVERY THREE MONTHS HE SPEAKS WITH VORSTER'S EMISSARIES.
HOUPHOUET SEES NO ALTERNATIVE TO SUCH DIALOGUE, EXCEPT
WAR, AND IS UNAFRAID OF PUBLIC REACTION TO SUCH DIALOGUE.
NEVERTHELESS, HE IS REVOLTED BY APARTHEID, AND BY THE
RECENT SOWETO KILLINGS, WHICH HAVE NOT YET BEEN
SATISFACTORILY EXPLAINED TO HIM BY THE SOUTH AFRICANS.
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AS TO NAMIBIA, HE HAS BEEN TRYING TO CONVINCE VORSTER
TO GRANT INDEPENDENCE AND ENCOURAGE COOPERATION THERE
BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES. VORSTER IS NOW SAYING
THIS, TOO.

12. GOVERNOR SCRANTON EXPRESSED HIS ADMIRATION FOR THE
PRESIDENT'S PRESENTATION, SAYING HE WAS THE FIRST AFRICAN
LEADER WHO HAD PUT THE PARTICULAR PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN
AFRICA INTO A WORLD-WIDE CONTEXT, INTEGRATING BOTH
ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL THINKING. HE PROMISED TO CONVEY
HOUPHOUET'S VIEWS TO PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY
KISSINGER.

13. SCRANTON THEN TURNED TO SOME CRITICAL ISSUES
BEFORE THE UN ON WHICH HE HOPED FOR GOIC'S SUPPORT.
HE MENTIONED KOREA, THE PANAMA CANAL AND
ISRAEL'S EXPULSION, AND PROMISED THAT AMBASSADOR SMITH
WOULD PROVIDE THE PRESIDENT WITH AN AIDE MEMOIRE ON
THESE. HE THEN SPOKE AT LENGTH ABOUT THE PUERTO RICAN
ISSUE AND THE COMMITTEE OF TWENTY-FOUR. HE STRESSED
HOW STRONGLY THE US FEELS ABOUT THIS ISSUE AND THE FACT
THAT WE HAVE GIVEN PUERTO RICO EVERY OPPORTUNITY FOR
SELF-DETERMINATION. THE VAST MAJORITY CONTINUES TO WANT
EITHER COMMONWEALTH OR STATEHOOD STATUS AND LESS THAN
5 PERCENT WANT INDEPENDENCE. IT IS THE BUBANS WHO HAVE BEEN
PUSHING FOR THE LATTER. THE GOVERNOR HOPED THAT GOIC,
REPRESENTED ON COMMITTEE OF TWENTY-FOUR, WOULD SUPPORT
THE US POSITION.

14. HOUPHOUET FULLY AGREED THAT THE UN SHOULD NOT TRY
TO PLEASE THE FIVE PERCENT AT THE EXPENSE OF THE 95 PERCENT.
AMBASSADOR AKE MENTIONED THAT THE QUESTION HAD BEEN PUT ON THE UN
AGENDA LAST YEAR "BY THE RADICALS" AND IVORY COAST HAD
ABSTAINED. HOUPHOUET SAID IVORY COAST SHOULD OPPOSE
THIS QUESTION BEING PUT ON THE AGENDA. HE ADDED, HOWEVER,
THAT WE SHOULD NOT WORRY SO MUCH OVER MANY OF THESE
RESOLUTIONS, WHICH NEED HAVE NO EFFECT ON HOW WE
ACTUALLY DO THINGS. THE GOVERNOR SAID IT WAS VERY
IMPORTANT TO THE US AND TO US PUBLIC OPINION TOWARD
THE UN AS A WHOLE. SUCH RESOLUTIONS RISKED LOSING

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PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR UN AID PROGRAMS AS WELL AS REGULAR BUDGETS.

15. GOVERNOR SCRANTON, IN COURTESY CALL ON PRESIDENT COULIBALY, EXHCHANGED IDEAS ON IVORY COAST'S GROWTH AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT NEEDS.

16. THIS CABLE NOT CLEARED WITH GOVERNOR SCRANTON. SMITH

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